DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 166 315 UD 019 110

AUTHOR Beck, William W.
TITLE Dallas School Desegregation: History and Precedents.
PUB DATE 13 Oct 78
NOTE 18p.; Paper presented at the Texas Council for the Social Studies Annual Convention (26th, Corpus Christi, October 13, 1978)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Blacks; Bus Transportation; Caucasians; *Community Attitudes; Community Involvement; Elementary Secondary Education; Equal Education; Historical Reviews; *Integration Litigation; Mexican Americans; Parent Participation; *School Integration; *Urban Schools
IDENTIFIERS Magnet Schools; *Texas (Dallas)

ABSTRACT

Since the 1954 Brown decision, Dallas residents have engaged in avoidance, resistance, legal battles and, finally, cooperation and compromise in the desegregation of Dallas schools. It now appears that Dallas is making some progress toward desegregation. Except for some segments of the black community, who felt they had been betrayed because of a remaining all-black subdistrict, the 1976 Dallas desegregation plan has received strong support from virtually every segment of the Dallas community. Although there is continued controversy over the pupil assignment plan and the effectiveness of magnet schools, the number of one-race schools in Dallas has been reduced by over 50 percent in a two-year period. Present trends in Dallas, however, make the future of Dallas schools uncertain. Several individuals believe that "freedom of choice" coupled with quality education are more important than complete integration and the elimination of one-race schools. There is also a concern about retaining or regaining support of the middle class and about the role of the community in enacting urban school changes. In addition, despite numerous innovative approaches and significant desegregation progress, the trend persists that Dallas Anglos often have different perceptions of their schools than do either blacks or Mexican-Americans. (Author/EB)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

JAN 2 9 1979

ED166315

# DALLAS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: History and Precedents

Research Paper

by

William W. Beck, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Education
Division of Educational Studies
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas 75275

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

William W. Beck

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

Texas Council for the Social Studies
Twenty-Sixth Annual Convention
13 October, 1978
Corpus Christi, Texas

SD019110

In September, 1976, the Chairman of the United States Commission on Civil Rights asserted that positive school and community leadership is a prime condition for peaceful and effective school desegregation, and, where it is lacking, disruption and turmoil are often the results. Arthur Fleming went on to state that Dallas was a prime example of that type of positive leadership.[1] That Dallas leadership, however, was not revolutionary but evolutionary and is still unfolding. Dallas schools remained historically segregated for years, and one subdistrict is still segregated. Even after the monumental 1954 Brown decision, many Dallasites shunned and even resisted mixing Anglos and minorities. The 1976 DISD desegregation plan was a court-ordered, not voluntary plan, was clearly a compromise plan and was occasionally cosmetic. School leaders and most Dallasites would appear to believe that slow and steady changes lead to long-term progress and are preferable to hasty and simplistic solutions.

This paper is a case study of an evolutionary approach to school desegregation. Concerted opposition of the 1950's was to be replaced by "guarded" cooperation in the 1960's and, finally, conflict coupled with more genuine cooperation leading to slow but progressive changes in the 1970's. The Dallas school desegregation history isn't a narration of noble efforts by a city to repay for past injustices, i.e., segregation, but is the story of a conservative, business-oriented urban center, with its array of races and classes, searching for answers to difficult school questions. The Dallas school desegregation history since "Brown" will be reported and analyzed. Finally, the writer's beliefs and feelings about the future of Dallas school desegregation will be stated.

---

The help of Glenn M. Linden, associate professor of history at Southern Methodist University, in researching the historical perspective is greatly appreciated. See also the following:

(1) Beck, William W.; Linden, Glenn; and Marks, William. "Desegregation and its Implications for Social Studies: The Dallas Case Study." Paper presented at the 56th meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D.C., 7 November 1976. (2) Beck, William W.; Linden, Glenn; and Siegel, Michael. "An Assessment of Local Community Problems in School Desegregation: The Boston and Dallas Case Studies." Paper accepted at the 57th meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, Cincinnati, Ohio, November 1977. (3) Beck, William W., and Sobol, Marion. "An Analysis of Black Parental Attitudes Toward Dallas School Desegregation: Implications for Social Studies." Paper presented at the 57th meeting of College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies, Cincinnati, Ohio, November 1977.

A History of Dallas School Desegregation Since Brown

The Avoidance Years.

Like many other cities prior to 1954, Dallas had maintained numerous segregated schools for years. Like the citizens of other cities, Dallasites responded to the Brown decision with apprehension and disbelief. Locating allies in two federal judges who, in making their decisions, disregarded the Supreme Court's views, the community and school leaders avoided the realities of the situation for the remainder of the decade.

In 1955, Albert Bell filed a suit against Robert S. Rippy to have the schools desegregated, but presiding Federal Judge William S. Atwell ruled against the plaintiff, declaring that the Supreme Court had overstepped its authority. Atwell's decision was subsequently overturned by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. In 1957, the NAACP brought a case in behalf of two black children who wanted to attend a white school four blocks from their home, but their request was denied by Judge Atwell, whose decision was again overruled by the Circuit Court. Atwell then ordered that all Dallas schools be desegregated, but the Fifth Circuit again intervened, ruling that a more reasonable plan should be prepared. In 1959, after the same Circuit Court ordered the DISD to prepare a desegregation plan within thirty days, the Dallas School Board proposed the "Stairstep Plan" whereby one grade per year would be integrated, beginning with the first grade. District Judge T. Whitfield Davidson rejected the plan and ordered separate schools be maintained and a third type of school be established for those wishing to attend an integrated school. He also was overruled by the Circuit Court.

Thus ended the first phase of Dallas School desegregation. The opposition of two federal judges probably reflected, however, majority opinion in Dallas

since few were willing to work for integration in these early years. The period of avoidance and resistance was followed in the 1960's by a period of "guarded" cooperation, i.e., citizens were semi-cooperative but not willing to whole-heartedly accept and work toward genuine school desegregation. In other words, Dallasites tended to work within the letter, but not the spirit, of the Brown decision.

The "Guarded" Cooperation Years.

In the fall of 1961, the Dallas School Board implemented the "Stairstep Plan" under the mandate of the Fifth Circuit Court. Beginning with grade one, compulsory segregated based on race was to be abolished a grade a year until, by 1972, all grades had been desegregated. The School Board and political and community leaders complied with the court order. In fact, the plan was speeded up in 1965 and all Dallas schools were declared desegregated in September, 1967. The DISD declared that the state imposed segregation system had been eliminated. Most citizens of Dallas believed their school desegregation problem had been solved, but they were wrong.

The Conflict and Compromise years.

The 1970's were marked by conflict, legal battles and the 1976 compromise plan that still has its critics and shortcomings. In October, 1970, Eddie Tasby filed a suit in Federal District Court charging that the DISD was continuing a dual school system through the use of the "neighborhood" or "freedom

of-choice" concept, school building sites and the staffing of teaching and administrative positions. Dallas Legal Services (DLS) attorneys filed the suit to desegregate all remaining one-race schools. The first response of Dallas community and school leaders, who did not believe a dual system existed, was opposition and conflict. Lengthy legal fights for the next four years took place in federal courts in Dallas and Houston, the Fifth Circuit Court, and the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Dallas desegregation trial took place from July 12 to July 16, 1970. The presiding U. S. District Judge William M. Taylor, Jr., stated:

> When it appears as it clearly does from the evidence in this case that in the Dallas Independent School District 70 schools are 90% or more white (Anglo), 40 schools are 90% or more black, and 49 schools with 90% or more minority, 91% of black students in 90% or more of the minority schools, 3% of the black students attend schools in which the majority is white or Anglo, it would be less than honest for me to say or to hold that all vestiges of a dual system have been eliminated...and I find...a dual system still exists.

He ordered the school leaders to formulate a new plan.

The school district responded with the "Confluence of Culture Desegregation Plan" that included the busing of limited numbers of inner-city black students to outlying secondary schools with the objective of reducing the percentage of minority students in all schools below the 90% level. The elementary plan was a "television desegregation plan" whereby minorities and Anglos in separate schools would communicate with each other via closed circuit television one hour daily. On August 2, 1971, the judge essentially adopted the DISD plan but ordered that more secondary students be "paired" in the Oak Cliff (black) area so that 15,000 secondary students would be bused. Judge

Taylor also implemented a majority-to-minority transfer program.

The "pairing" provisions dealing with the black Oak Cliff area touched off a public furor. On August 23, the Fifth Circuit Court would stay the elementary television plan. On August 7, 1971, Taylor stayed most of the junior and senior high busing. Eventually about 6,000 high school students, of which 98% were black, were bused under the 1971 court order.[2] Though one thousand Anglos were scheduled to be bused to formerly all-black high schools, fewer than fifty were still attending these schools four years later. Most white students were unwilling to attend schools in black neighborhoods and many disappeared and turned up in neighboring suburban schools. Black students, however, were bused into many white high schools -- mostly Bryan Adams, Thomas Jefferson and Hillcrest. For the most part they attended these schools and many were graduated. The attitude of black parents was a willingness to go along with busing if it meant a better education for their children.

During the four-year legal battles DISD was in limbo, the district was changing. A freeze on the addition of new buildings or the renovation of old buildings was ordered. The DISD became predominantly minority in composition. It had been 58% Anglo, 34% black, and 8% Mexican American in 1970. It was 41% Anglo in 1975. By the 1977-78 school year's end, the DISD would be 35.5% Anglo, 48% black, and 15% Mexican-American.[3] The total school enrollment declined from 163,000 in 1970 to 136,000 in 1978. Enrollments for the fall of 1978 were down only 2,000 students from the fall, 1977, enrollments, a plus since DISD had been losing 4,000-5,000 students a year since 1970.[4]

In July, 1975, the Circuit Court rejected several key parts of the 1971 desegregation plan and ordered a new one to be implemented by January, 1976. During that time, Judge Taylor worked with various groups to create a desegregation plan acceptable to the Circuit Court, the DISD and Dallasites. He made

a special plea to the business community to cooperate in finding an answer. The Dallas Alliance, a business community service organization which had occasionally worked on community problems, formed a task force composed of seven Anglos, seven blacks and seven Mexican-Americans. The Alliance met for 1500 hours for four months on their plan.

Other groups and cities became involved in the controversy. On August 22, 1975, Judge Taylor ruled the NAACP and other groups could intervene in the suit. Taylor also allowed the plaintiffs to add seven suburbs to the suit; the plaintiffs hoped a metropolitan plan or, at the least, more integration in the suburbs might be forthcoming. All school districts except Dallas and Highland Park were soon dropped from the suit. The Highland Park Independent School District serves a small, wealthy and politically and socially influential area completely surrounded by the DISD; it was eventually also dropped from the suit over strong protests from the plaintiffs.

On February 2, 1976, Judge Taylor presided as the desegregation trial began again. Numerous experts on alternative approaches to desegregation were heard. A number of groups submitted desegregation plans: The Dallas School Board, NAACP, a court-appointed expert, a magnet high school class, the Dallas Alliance and severa' citizen groups. The NAACP had two plans, one that called for busing 55,000 students and left only three one-race schools and an alternative plan that bused 37,000 students and left 15 one-race schools.

On April 7, 1976, after several minor changes, Judge Taylor issued the Dallas school desegregation order that basically followed the plan submitted by the Dallas Alliance. His order required the busing of 17,328 students. The NAACP, troubled over the lack of integration in the predominantly black area of Dallas, East Oak Cliff (EOC), appealed Taylor's order to the Fifth Circuit Court in April, 1976. In July, the Circuit Court denied without elaboration the NAACP's request to delay implementation of the desegregation order.

On August 23, 1976, the DISD opened peacefully on the new desegregation plan, and it continues to follow that order for the 1978-79 school year.

More legal battles have been raging in the DISD after the April 21, 1978, decision of the Fifth Circuit Court that accepted most of the 1976 desegregation plan but rejected the pupil assignment plan. The Court realized that the number of one-race schools had been reduced by over 50% in a two year period - from 159 one-race schools to 68 schools. The Court noted that 41 of those 68 schools were outside EOC but that 27 of those schools were in the all-black subdistrict (of a total of 30 schools). The order directed a reevaluation of the magnet school effectiveness and ruled that Judge Taylor had erred by not providing transportation for students who elect the majority-to-minority transfer. (DISD does provide transportation but left the facts out of their briefs.) In an effort to defend its plan, the Dallas Board of Education has appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court which will consider the case in the fall of 1978.

The 1976 Desegregation Plan

The Dallas Plan contains the following provisions:

1. Six sub-districts are used for student assignment purposes, with each having approximately the racial makeup plus or minus 5% of the DISD as a whole, with the exception of East Oak Cliff and Seagoville. (The Seagoville subdistrict was excluded since it was considered to be "naturally" integrated.)
2. East Oak Cliff, the predominately black community in the southern portion of the city, remains a segregated subdistrict (98% black) and is <u>excluded</u> from busing; approximately 27,500 students were left in 27 one-race schools in this area of town. Forty-one per cent of all Dallas black students and 50% of black 4-6 grade students attend segregated schools. The two high schools are 99% black.

3. Busing will be minimized and will take place at grades 4-8 only. About 17,000 students were bused in 1977-78; 51% were black and 34%, Anglo.
4. Majority-to-minority transfers were to be encouraged. In 1976, blacks made 93% of the 3600 transfers.
5. Grade levels configurations are standardized throughout the district to include grades K-3 Early Childhood Education Centers, grades 4-6 Intermediate Schools, grades 7-8 Middle Schools, and grades 9-12 High Schools.
6. There are special schools--5 Vanguard schools for grades 4-6, 3 Academies for grades 7-8, and 6 Magnet Schools for grades 9-12.

Although the schools have achieved much publicity and more are being planned, they have not attracted large numbers of Anglos and have some academic problems. A court-ordered audit by the Educational Testing Service, for example, found that the great majority in 4-6 grade magnets and many in the 7-8 grade magnets are reading below grade level. Furthermore, voluntary enrollment in the magnet schools " 'has not produced the racial balance (prescribed by) the court order.' "[5] The magnet high schools have 56-87% minority enrollments.[6] The 7-8 grade magnets show 64-85% minority. With the exception of one school, 4-6 grade magnets are 67-99.5% minority. That exception, the school for the talented and gifted, is only 32% minority, which has troubled some persons. Some Anglos are being attracted but in limited numbers. Since many minorities are enrolling in the magnets, a danger of resegregation exists unless the courts intervene.

7. Students are free to transfer to any of the Vanguard, Academy or Magnet schools.
8. Students who live in predominately black areas will be encouraged to consider transfer to schools in other areas.

9. Special programs--Career Education, Bilingual Education, Multi-Cultural Social Studies, and Plan A--will be expanded.
10. There will be a reduction of the adult-pupil ratio through tutoring by using parents, adult volunteers, older students and para-professionals. The adult ratio of 1-10 is a goal in the K-3 center.
11. The Tri-Ethnic Committee will be continued.
12. Racial ratios for DISD teaching staff will be equal to the city's racial percentages. In December, 1976, the teacher figures were 30.5% black, 65% Anglo, and 4.5% Mexican-American.
13. Top administrators, approximately 142, will reflect the ethnic makeup of approximately 44% Anglo, 44% black and 12% Mexican-American. This goal is to be met by 1979.

Except for some segments of the black community who felt they had been betrayed because of the remaining all-black subdistrict, the 1976 Dallas desegregation plan has received strong support from virtually every segment of the Dallas community. Business leaders developed an effective public relations program to convince Dallasites to support the compromise plan. Many businesses, churches, universities and civic groups "adopted" schools and provide tutoring, often through "released" time for employees, and materials. Not a single prominent political figure opposed the plan, and special efforts were made to coordinate the policies of the School Board and the City Council. The Dallas School Board's plan had been rejected, but the trustees also supported the plan. Mexican-American community spokesmen supported the plan that recognized their people as a distinct ethnic group in the DISD.

Since the 1954 decision, Dallasites have engaged in avoidance, resistance, "guarded" cooperation, and, finally, more legal battles, cooperation and compromise to desegregate its schools. Dallas historically has maintained segregated schools but, it appears at this point in time, is making some progress toward desegregation in an evolutionary way. The fall decision of the U. S.

Supreme Court could, of course, change directions and approaches once again for the Dallas Schools.

Trends and Precedents

After serving ten years as DISD superintendent, Dr. Nolan Estes is leaving to accept a position as a professor of educational administration at the University of Texas. The president of the Dallas Board of Education, William Hunter, has announced that since he will be leaving Dallas, he will not seek reelection. These developments, coupled with the fact that the Supreme Court has not yet agreed to hear the Dallas desegregation case, makes the future of Dallas schools very uncertain. This writer believes, nevertheless, that certain Dallas school desegregation trends, some of which are obviously operating in unique ways in other cities, can be identified. It is too early to have a very clear picture, but Dallas may be establishing educational precedents for, as Dr. Estes admits, there are no precedents for the Dallas approach.[7]

1. In justifying the EOC segregated black schools, Dr. Estes and the Anglos on the Dallas Board of Education[8] apparently believe that "freedom of choice" coupled with <u>quality education</u> are more important than complete integration and the elimination of one-race schools. Speaking before a community-based group that works with the schools called the NETWORK, Estes cited the all-black EOC as a "model for the nation" in creating urban education programs for the future. He went on to say that the Dallas plan could become a "landmark case" if it reached the Supreme Court since the EOC all-black subdistrict would be an urban experiment in predominantly majority-minority education. "It is my belief," he said, "should it reach the U. S. Supreme Court, it would be affirmed and become a landmark case taking its place alongside Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg."[9] With joint themes of "freedom of choice" and quality education, Associate Superintendent Yvonne Ewell, who heads the segre-

gated subdistrict, states that the EOC experiment is designed to "affirm the black experience."[10] She alleges that EOC black students have become political pawns and the emphasis in East Oak Cliff should be on quality education and the learning tasks. Through curricular and instructional innovations, black students would then have access to numerous educational options.

The options open to black EOC students are numerous. Many have availed themselves of the majority-to-minority transfer program. The A. Harris Shopping Center in EOC has been purchased for use as a K-12 school and for other educational and social services. The four Metropolitan High Schools provide completely individualized and personalized approaches for "dropouts" or students who cannot adjust to regular DISD secondary schools. The Skyline Career Development Center received nationwide publicity as a prototype of successful career exploration schools. From that school evolved an array of optional magnet schools for students in grades 4-12; more such alternatives are being planned. Special education, multi-cultural and bilingual programs and materials have been developed and expanded. The "Partners in Reading" approach involving parents in their child's education is being enlarged, perhaps even to "Partners in Math." Reading scores in grades 1-3 in East Oak Cliff have risen over the past six years, according to a DISD study. Black children in first and second grades are at national norms in reading ability which, Dr. Estes feels, is unprecedented in any big city. Other scores of elementary students, however, aren't as impressive, and secondary students still score below national norms in reading and math.[11]

2. The DISD is offering a number of sweeping educational reforms in order to retain or regain support of the middle classes. Superintendent Estes had stated that the DISD is losing too many middle class students.[12]

Most of the innovative educational options that are available to black EOC students are also used to entice students in the other five subdistricts, e.g., magnet schools, majority-to-minority programs, multi-cultural curriculum materials and bilingual programs.

In addition, Dr. Estes pushes for programs that would appeal to middle class patrons, e.g., minimum proficiency exam prior to being given a high school diploma, gifted and talented student curriculum in every elementary school, requirement that students be at grade level in reading and math by the third grade or be placed in special programs, magnet schools that appeal to those classes.

Some progress can be seen from a recent DISD study that showed more students transferred into DISD from private schools than transferred out. Grades 4-8, however, where involuntary busing occurs, experienced net losses of students to private schools[13].

3. Community involvement, particularly businessmen and parents, is extremely important in enacting urban school changes. News media and television coverage has been substantial, including district-produced films with titles like, "Keep It Together, Dallas." The NETWORK, "adopt-a-school" and numerous other volunteer programs, an information "hot-line" and even Dr. Estes and other school leaders "driving a school bus" arrangements are efforts to reach out to the Dallas community and get them involved. Parents who enroll their children in the "Fundamentals" Academy, for example, sign an agreement stipulating their responsibilities, e.g., number of conferences per year. The "Partners-in-Reading" program has been highly publicized and has met with some success.

4. A unique approach to public education to help finance projects relating to desegregation has been the establishment of a private, non-profit, tax-exempt corporation dedicated to raising special funds for the DISD. Called Foundation for Quality Education, Inc., the private group attempts to

secure private money for public education. School officials believe that public schools should solicit donations as hospitals and colleges do. The 1978 projects that were proposed for funding included the following: Nutrition Education, $25,000; calculator/computer math, $124,000; outdoor education scholarships, $35,000; creative writing anthology, $80,000; magnet school internships in Washington, D. C., $13,000; second annual DISD drama festival, $9,000.[14] The most recent plan calls for a $113 million office complex called "Eastern Gateway" to be jointly developed by the DISD and the foundation. The complex would include a 51-story office building, a 210,000 square foot, seven story DISD administration building, and a three-story shopping mall. In addition, the complex would eventually guarantee DISD an annual income of from $1.5 million to $2 million.[15]

5. In spite of numerous innovative approaches and significant desegregation progress, the trend persists that Dallas Anglos often have different perceptions of their schools than do either blacks or Mexican-Americans. Those sentiments were revealed in a recent survey conducted by a research firm working for the Network. They found 53% of the Anglos felt that the effect of desegregation on the schools had been <u>bad</u> (25% said it was good); while 55% of the blacks and 34% of the Mexican-Americans stated it had been <u>good</u>. (Mexican-American opinions in the survey tended to be roughly midway between the Anglo and black views.) Forty-two per cent of the Anglos believed the Dallas schools are now "mostly desegregated," but only 13% of the blacks and 32% of the Mexican-Americans answered in the same manner. Twenty-five percent of the blacks said DISD was "not really desegregated at all," but only 6% of the Anglos gave that same response. Only 54% of the Anglos surveyed would recommend the DISD to others but 89% of the blacks and 77% of the Mexican-Americans would do so.[16]

In another recent study, 47% of randomly selected black parents in the one remaining segregated area of the DISD believed that "mixed schools" provide more opportunities and a better learning environment for their children than black schools. Thirty-four per cent said mixed schools would be a "little better" and 41% said, "about the same." Only 6% felt mixed schools would be worse than black schools.[17] These findings suggest that there are substantial differences in the perceptions of integration by various groups in Dallas. These differences are significant and make it more difficult to achieve a successful desegregation.

## Conclusion

Looking at Dallas school desegregation in an historical context, it appears that degrees of progress have been made since the Brown case. The courts laid the segregation problem before the community, which attempted to ignore and resist its responsibility. Recent events point, however, to a spirit of cooperation in Dallas that, hopefully, will lead to more permanent solutions and additional school desegregation. Problems persist, particularly in light of 27,500 black students that attend segregated schools in a desegregated, urban school district. Sixty eight one-race schools are still maintained. Hopefully, Anglo enrollments have stabilized and community involvement will continue.

The people of Dallas have chosen compromise over violence and have elected to provide both equality of educational opportunity and quality education. The tasks ahead are complex and difficult, but revolutionary changes were enacted through evolutionary means. Paul Geisel, professor of urban affairs at the University of Texas, declared: "If there's a lesson in Dallas, it's this: don't pay attention to what we did - the specifics aren't that important and probably won't last 10 years - but look at how we did it."[18]

## REFERENCES


[1]"Desegregation Grades," Time, September 6, 1976, p. 64.

[2]Bill Sloan, "For 6,000, Busing Could End," The Dallas Times Herald, March 18, 1976.

[3]Ruth Eyre and Leonard Reed, "Court Orders Changes in DISD Plan," The Dallas Times Herald, April 25, 1978.

[4]Margaret Downing, "1,700 Private School Students Enter DISD," The Dallas Times Herald, September 16, 1978.

[5]Leonard Reed, "Desegregation Audit Favorable," The Dallas Times Herald, June 18, 1978.

[6]Daniel U. Levine and Nolan Estes, "Desegregation and Educational Reconstruction in the Dallas Public Schools," Phi Delta Kappan, November, 1977, p. 164.

[7]William Trombley, title n.a., Los Angeles Times, February 21, 1977.

[8]Although their reasons are obscure, the minority trustees voted against appealing the recent Fifth Circuit Court ruling to the U. S. Supreme Court. Trustee Kathlyn Gilliam said that the DISD should return to Judge Taylor's court to write a new student assignment plan and, if necessary, justify any one race school. Voting along racial lines also took place when the Board of Education selected its new superintendent, the minority trustees preferring a minority candidate.

[9]That case called for the use of clustering and pairing of schools to obtain a racial balance, an approach that usually involves busing. See Leonard Reed, "Estes Favors Defense of Present DISD Plan," The Dallas Times Herald, April 26, 1978.

[10]Leonard Reed, "DISD Rehearing Request Denied," The Dallas Times Herald, May 23, 1978.

[11]Don Wycliff, "DISD Testing Shows Reading up, Math Down," The Dallas Times Herald, September 22, 1978.

[12]Eric Miller, "Estes Warns Middle Class Rolls Dropping," The Dallas Times Herald, January 13, 1977.

[13]"Transfers Favor DISD this Year," The Dallas Times Herald, January 22, 1978.

[14]Leonard Reed, "DISD Submits Funds Proposal to Foundation," January 17, 1978.

[15]Margaret Downing, "Plans for Eastern Gateway Unveiled," The Dallas Times Herald, September 22, 1978.

[16]Grove & Associates, Inc., "1978 Perceptions, Opinions and Attitudes Toward the DISD and School Desegregation," August, 1978, P. 44-57.

[17]Marion G. Sobol and William W. Beck, "Black Parent Perceptions and Attitudes Toward the Schools in the East Oak Cliff Sub-District of the Dallas Indepentent School District," "Report for the Robert L. Lichten Foundation for Human Rights," August, 1977, P. 4.

[18]William Trombley, title n.a., Los Angeles Times, February 21, 1977.